1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

793 *kâtmeii ten idith.* When any other Teivali man approaches, the *palol* says "*Pekein*," but all the Teivaliol reply with the same formula as the Tartharol. If a Tarthar man and a Teivali man approach the *palol* together, the former will be greeted first. The *palol* greets the man to whose division the buffaloes belong before the man of his own clan or division.

If a Toda is in the condition called *ichchil*, *i.e.*, has been defiled in connexion with funeral or other ceremonies, it was said that he might not approach the *palol*. I had an interesting example, however, of the way in which a regulation of this kind is observed. While Teitnir (52) had *ichchil*, owing to the fact that the funeral ceremonies of a relative had not been completed, he went with me to the Mòdr *ti* one day and approached within a few yards of the *palol*. He had taken off the semi-European clothing he often wore, and had his right arm bare, but no greeting of any kind took place between him and the *palol*; the latter did not recognise his presence in any way and behaved as if Teitnir were not there. On this occasion Teitnir was *ichchil* on account of the death of a more or less distant relative. Later his wife died, and then there seemed to be no doubt that he would not under any circumstances have approached the *ti* or the *palol*.

There are several regulations concerning the food of the *palol*. Any grain he eats must be that provided by the Badagas. At the present time more rice is eaten than was formerly the case. This is not grown by the Badagas, but nevertheless the rice for the *palol* must be obtained through them. The *palol* may drink milk, but only that from the buffaloes called *punir*. He must take his food sitting on the seat, or *pokvelkars*, outside the dairy, and, as we have seen, he uses for this purpose the seat which is not on the same side as the *masi*. He usually prepares the food himself and cooks it on the fireplace called *tòratthwaskal* in the outer room of dairy; but there is also a fireplace outside the dairy which is used sometimes, especially when food has to be prepared for many people, and then the *palol* may be assisted by the *kaltmokh*. If food is prepared by the *kaltmokh*, the fireplace outside the dairy must be used.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The only food which the *palol* is altogether forbidden is chillies. 262 793

The *palol* wears garments of the kind called *tuni*, of a dark grey material made at Nulturs in the Coimbatore district. They are brought to the *palol* by the Badaga called *tikelfmav*.[1] Each *palol* has two of these garments. One is worn as a loincloth and is called *pòdrshtuni*. It is only worn when definitely engaged in dairy-work and on certain ceremonial occasions, and at other times is kept in the outer room of the dairy. The other garment is called *kubuntuni*, and is worn like the ordinary cloak, but always with the right arm out (*kewenarut*). It is worn when not engaged on sacred business, and on a few occasions is worn together with the *pòdrshtuni*. The small perineal cloth ordinarily called *kuvu* is made of the same material as the *tuni* and is called *kagurs* at the *ti*, while the string which passes round the waist and holds the *kagurs* in place is called *kwainur* or *kwoinur*. 292 437 439

I was told that the *palol* should never cut his hair or his nails while he is in office. 784 793

If a *palol* has held office for eighteen years without a break, he performs a special ceremony. The essential feature of this ceremony is that the *palol* has intercourse in the daytime with a girl or young woman who must belong to the Tartharol. The woman is chosen by the *palol* and the matter is arranged by the clan to which the *ti* belongs. On the appointed day the woman is brought to a village near the dairy at which the *palol* is living; if he is at Mòdr, for instance, the woman will come to the adjacent village of Perththo. She must bathe carefully and be adorned with all possible ornaments and fine clothing. After the work of the morning is over, the *palol* gives rice and milk to the *kaltmokh* and tells him to have food ready for him when he returns at night. He then goes covered with his *kubuntuni* to a wood near the village, where the woman will be awaiting him. Later the woman returns to the village and the *palol* remains in the 786 793 833

[1] According to Breeks (p. 14) these garments are made by the Badagas of Jakanarai. This may be correct, but it is much more probable that they are procured through the Badagas living in this village.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

184 234 618 554 the Kars and the Pan *ti* the people of Kars are *mòrol*, but they may only visit the *ti* and take buttermilk and are not allowed to sleep there, nor have they any of the special ceremonial duties of the Melgarsol.

234 463 554 [358] When the dairy of a *ti mad* needs to be repaired or rebuilt, this is done by Melgars men, who must previously undergo an ordination ceremony of the same character as that for the office of *wursol*, and the men rank as *wursol* while engaged in the work. The hut of the *ti mad* is also repaired or rebuilt by the Melgarsol, but in this case the work is done without any special ceremony. In either case the Melgars men are not allowed to leave the *ti mad*, and they sleep in the living hut while the work is being done.

[764] Another duty of the Melgarsol is to assist in carrying the corpse of a *palol* who has died in office.

[123] On the occasion of the *teutiitusthchi* ceremony in 1902, when the *palol* and *kaltmokh* left the dairy at Mòdr for several hours, I found a Melgars man in the neighbourhood of the dairy, and it seemed to me that he was watching the dairy while the regular guardians were away. I was told however, that this was not one of the recognised duties of a *mòrol*, and I suspected that he was stationed at Mòdr at the time of my visit, because it was feared that I might take advantage of the absence of the *palol* to make a closer inspection of the dairy than was allowed.

New Dairy Vessels

415 437 439 The earthenware vessels of the inner room (*persin* and *tèrzum*) are procured from Hindus through the Badagas. They were formerly obtained from a place called Kulpet (Kundapeta), near Nanjankudi in Mysore, and I was told that the Todas used to go down to fetch them.

The earthenware vessels of the outer room (*alug*) are obtained from the Kotas like those of the ordinary dairy.

234 314 The churn or *hòghlag* is made by the Todas themselves from the slender bamboo growing on the hills.

322 415 The material out of which the bamboo vessels (*kwoi*, *idrkwoi*, *karpun*, *uppun*) are made, is procured from a place

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

man of certain fees from those members of other clans who have married into the family. 764

The cloth used is a red loincloth of a kind which is never worn by the Todas, but, so far as I could ascertain, it is only an ordinary cloth procured in the bazaar.

The Cremation

After the *kachüttkti* ceremony the body is replaced on the wooden bier and borne to the *methkudi*, where the funeral pyre has been erected within the wood, usually at no great distance from the funeral hut.

The bier is laid by the side of the pyre, and the dead person is then supplied with the various necessaries for the other world. Many of the things are placed in the large pocket, or *kudsh*, between the two folds of the cloak in which the body is enclosed.

The things supplied are chiefly food, ornaments, and money. The food includes grain, rice, jaggery, limes, and honey. Some of the food is put directly into the *kudsh*, while some of the grain, rice, and honey are mixed together and put in a metal bowl. Tobacco, coconuts, ghi, or articles of food from the bazaar may be added.

A number of square boxes made of rattan and called *pettei*[1] are also placed on the bier. They are procured from Mitur in the Wainad, and are often called *miturpettei* or *mitudpettei*. Jaggery and other things are put into each of the boxes, and they are covered with cloth, tied with thread, and adorned with cowries. [439]

The ornaments placed on the corpse included rings for the fingers, armlets, necklaces, and earrings.

The money is collected from all present and put in rolls into long purses, called *tinkani*. Most of the money used for this occasion is old with Arabic inscriptions and is known by the Todas as *irajkars*, the more recent coinage being called *englishkars*. In one collection of coins which 764 436 177

[1] At the *marasmkali* (see p. 381) these boxes are only burnt at a woman's funeral, their place at a man's funeral being taken by bamboo vessels called *mat*. This is probably also true of the *arasuvalkali*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

765 535 After the buffalo is killed dancing takes place at the funeral of a male. The men only dance and they may begin soon after the killing of the buffalo, while other ceremonies are still in progress. In the dancing the same tall pole (*tadri* or *tadrsi*) is used as is carried by the Teivali man who wears the cloak of the *narskedr*. It is a tall pole which, it was said, might sometimes be as much as 39 feet in length. I only saw a *tadri* at one funeral, when it was much smaller. It is decorated with rings of cowries, which are called *ntrpul*, the ornaments in general being called *tadri asteram* (see Fig. 67).

[439] The pole is procured from Malabar through the Kurumbas. It is used at the funeral of males only of both the Teivaliol and Tartharol, and is burnt at the end of the *azaramkedr*.

In the only dance which I had the opportunity of seeing the men danced within the circular wall surrounding the funeral hut. In this case the floor of the enclosure was below the general level of the ground. The men formed a circle and danced round in slow step; one man said the name of the slaughtered buffalo—in this case, Purkirsi—and another repeated this name; then the first man said "*hau! hau!*" which was repeated by the second man.

After a time one of the men took the *tadri* and they danced round in a similar way, taking the pole with them as they danced (*i.e.*, they did not dance round the pole).

After the dancing is over, food is distributed to all the people present and most return to their homes, while the remainder wait at the funeral place till the following morning, when are held the final ceremonies, which are known as the *azaramkedr*.

THE AZARAMKEDR

765 This is the name applied to the ceremonies connected with the final burning of the remains and burial of the ashes. After food has been distributed at the *marvainolkedr*, many of those attending the funeral return home. The remainder stay at the spot during the evening, those nearly related to the deceased lamenting in the usual fashion almost continuously. At a funeral attended by Samuel, the people took

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

this case the hair was burnt in an iron ladle before the clarified butter was applied.

This ceremony of *narsatipimi* is performed by the daughter-in-law of a woman, or by the mother-in-law of a girl or woman who has no daughter-in-law. At the funeral of Narskuti (56 and 63) it was performed by Piliurs, the wife of Tüliners (56), the son of the dead woman. At the funeral of Tersveli (52 and 63), a much younger woman, who had no daughter-in-law, the relics were anointed by Muteimi (52 and 69), the mother of Teitnir, Tersveli's husband. I have no record of the person who performs this ceremony at the funeral of a man.

The next step in the proceedings is to light a fire within the circle of stones, this fire being called the *azaramtüt*. Firewood is put within the *azaram* and the *narskedr* in its covering is placed on the wood. If the *azaramkedr* is being held for two or more people simultaneously, the remains of all are put on the wood together.[1] In the pockets of the mantles forming the coverings are placed grain, jaggery, and coins. The *azaramtüt* is then lighted by taking three firebrands in succession from the *puntüt*. The firebrands are placed on the firewood and on the remains by the daughter-in-law or mother-in-law of a female as in the last ceremony.[2] Then all the people take up the burning wood from the *puntüt* and place it within the *azaram* over the remains. The various objects previously brought from the funeral hut are now placed on the fire and burnt, and the special food known as *ashkkarthpimi* may be thrown into the fire. Then all the people cry together, forehead to forehead.

The following are the objects burnt with the remains on the *azaramtüt*, at the funeral of a male:—

(*a*) In the pocket of the cloak, jaggery, the husked grain called *patcherski*, husked barley (*kodjerski*), and rupees in two

[1] As I have already pointed out, this would only happen if the people were of the same clan and sex.

[2] My notes do not make it absolutely clear who lights the fire at the funeral of a male. The *puntüt* is lighted by a man of the same clan, and this is probably also the case with the *azaramtüt*. Owing to the fact that a woman becomes a member of her husband's clan, the daughter-in-law who lights the fire at a woman's funeral will also be of the same clan as the deceased.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

bags, one called *tinkani*, made by the Todas themselves, and the other called *katshiram*, procured from Hindus.

(*b*) Sticks of the following kinds of wood: *pars*, *karneizi tavai*, *kali*, *toarsmitch*, *kar*.

(*c*) A *nammakud*, a club or stick cut from the *pars* tree (Fig. 67).

(*d*) A *tadri*, or long pole used in the dance and in the *koòtiti* ceremony of the previous day.

(*e*) Several *wak*, bamboo vessels filled with grain, butter, ghi, honey, &c., usually ten in number for adults and five for children.

(*f*) A *tek*, a basket made by the Kotas in which barley or poppy heads are put.

(*g*) A bow (*purs*) and three arrows (*ab*) (Fig. 67).

(*h*) A *kafkati*, or knife, called on ordinary occasions *kudrval*.

(*i*) A *masth*, the axe used to kill the buffaloes on the previous day, called on this occasion *trkipmasth*.

(*j*) A *miturkwadr*, the palm-leaf umbrella, so called because procured from Mitur in the Wainad.

(*k*) A *kudshmurn*, a special kind of sieve made by the Kotas and not used in ordinary life.

At the funeral of a woman boxes called *pettei* or *miturpettei* are burnt instead of the *wak*. These are small boxes made of rattan, covered with cloth and adorned with cowries. There are also burnt the three objects especially connected with women, the pounder (*wask*), sieve (*murn*), and broom (*kip*), but the pounder is only burnt after the following ceremony has taken place.

As soon as the things have been placed on the fire, there follows the ceremony[1] called *trsankâti*. At the funeral of a male, the *matchuni*, or cousin, of the dead man puts on the woman's ornaments known as *tagars*, *keiveli*, and *pulthi*, and stands at the opening in the circle of stones with his right arm outside his cloak (*kevenarut*). He is joined there by the man who has lighted the fire, and they cry together, both standing at the entrance of the *asaram*, where they

[1] There was some question as to whether the ceremony did not begin as soon as the fire was lighted.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. IV.

Perhaps the ornaments, likely to be equally primitive with these armlets, are the heavy bunches of coiled iron wire or of little bits of the same metal, worn like charms from both waist and elbow. Very tasteless and heavy. 301

I do not see, in the form of their finger and ear rings, necklaces and girdles, anything deserving of remark. They do not appear to me to be especially characteristic of the Todas, but rather, just what they can purchase from the tribes surrounding them. The photographs of women, show the nature of necklace worn as marriage tokens. [430]

The nose and lips are never perforated or ornamented; nor are bangles for the ankles, or bells on the toes, worn. [304]

You may distinguish a boy from a girl by the mode in which the hair is cut. With the latter, the entire back-hair is kept short from infancy till the approach to marriageable age. The former have a band of hair cut short, or shaved, along the head, from the nape of the neck, over the poll to the top of the forehead, and a cross slip carried over the top of the head from ear to ear. The smallest male infants are often so distinguished. 302

The wearing apparel of the sexes is identical. First comes the loin-cloth—Kûvn—corresponding to the Hindustani Lungoti, over which the toga—Putkuli—measuring about six feet long by four feet broad, made of coarse unbleached cotton, and worn double; ornamented at the two ends with red and blue stripes, and sometimes with a little embroidery in blue cotton. This mantle is sufficiently large to envelope a woman most completely. A decent though cumbersome garment to wear, better suited for sitting and sleeping in than for any purposes of labour. Pockets are made in the corners of the mantle, by sewing the double cloth together at those places. This dress is more properly Drâvidian than mere Toda, and is purchased in the bazaars. 291 439

They are a dirty people; yet very much of their dirt arises 000

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER VIII.

FOOD.

Diet—Kûtu—Badaga and Kota Neighbours prey on the Todas—Todas give away valuable Property—Not flesh eaters—Ceremony of eating Buffalo flesh—Don't drink Spirits—Children's Food—Family Meals—Grace before Meat—No Weapons of the Chase—No variety of Live Stock.

CHAP. VIII.

524 526 578 411 284 THE Todas have no sports or games, except the innocent tip cat, corresponding in its play very much with our boys' game of rounders. No violent exercise. No means of settling disputes by scientific personal conflict, as in wrestling, fencing or boxing. Nothing in fact pointing to natural turbulence of character and surplus energy. They wear no weapons of offence or defence. They do not even hunt, either, for the sake of providing themselves with food, or for the pleasure of the chase.

241 They do not attempt to till the ground.

234 262 177 262 457 439 427 The products of the buffalo form the main staple of Toda diet. No doubt, at some time or another, they depended upon that animal more than they do now; in a period when they were isolated from contact with agricultural races. Now they are well supplied with the ordinary cereals of the country, as rice, wheat, barley, varieties of the pea, millet and other small grain, also sugar, salt, and tobacco; all of which items are, and for many generations have been, either purchased from the surrounding tribes by the barter or sale of their own surplus nei, or obtained by the levy from their neighbours,

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

the Badaga[1] tribe, of kûtu,[2] or tribute due to them as lords of the soil. This kûtu, which implies a permission to the Badagas to cultivate the land, is said[3] to be a certain portion of the produce, varying from $\frac{1}{10}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$, and shows that the Todas are the earliest *existing* race occupying the plateau of the Nilagiri Mountains.

Each Toda Mand has a claim on certain Badaga villages for their kûtu. Members of each family of the Mand go out in turn on a begging expedition to the village from which it is entitled to draw for support. And as no very accurate accounts are kept, either of the amount of kûtu due in any individual year, or of the quantity of grain which has already been supplied, this foraging stands with the Toda in lieu of sport, in so far as the uncertainty of the results is concerned; it being to the interest of the Badagas to postpone and shirk payment of grain as long as possible: whilst on the other hand, the state of the Toda stores, and his natural persistency combined, are urging him on to repeat the visits for the renewal of his granary. The result being that the Toda gets exactly as much grain as will just satisfy his actual necessities: the Badaga acquires land on cheap terms of rental.

Thus we find that these people have, for several centuries, been in the enjoyment of a considerable variety of nourishing and digestible articles of diet: probably as much in quantity, and nearly as great in variety, as most other races have access to: acquired too with the very smallest amount of personal labour; the mere tending of cattle.

From the fact of the strong similarity which is known to exist between the Toda and Kanarese dialects; and of the Badagas having followed the Todas from the hot plains of

[1] Badagas, a Kanarese people of the Hindu faith.

[2] Kûtu. See Chapter VI., note 7.

[3] This statement was made in a Report, dated 1835, from Mr. J. Sullivan, collector of Koimbatore—in which district the Nilagiris lay—to the Government of Madras, in the Revenue department.

CHAP. VIII.

the low country, into a district so cold, wild, and inaccessible as this must, by contrast, have appeared to them, we have strong presumptive evidence of the two tribes having, previous to their migration, long lived side by side, mutually dependent one on the other; the Todas, for the supply of grain they had not the energy to raise for themselves: the shrewd Badagas, for the nei which they obtained so easily from this most unmercantile people.

Similarly, another native tribe—the Kota—not so advanced as the Badaga, but more laborious, and thus skilled, than the Toda, followed the fortunes of this simple people on retirement to the Nilagiris; possibly influenced, amongst other motives, by knowledge of the fact that the live male buffalos, the carcasses of the females, and the skins and horns of both, were to be had almost gratis, so long as they maintained adherence to their old friends. Thus we see—no matter how primitive the stage of society, how microscopic the tribe—the universal mundane process at work; of the strong preying on the weak, and the clever on the stupid: races, like individuals, supporting themselves by utilising and depressing their simpler brethren.

> Big fleas have little fleas upon their backs to bite them;
> Little fleas have lesser fleas; and so on *ad infinitum*.

To what other cause but grievous national improvidence can we attribute their having acquiesced in promptings to part with an amount of meat sustenance, that would, if utilised, nearly double their food supply? And to permit skins and horns of vast herds—whose sale would have brought a very welcome addition to their revenue—to be removed as return payment for a little trumpery Kota music, and primitive ironmongery?

What the buffalo is to the Toda, so is the Toda to these slightly superior tribes; the milch-cow.

There is good reason for believing the Todas' assertion;

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

long ago deserted, some of which by the girth of the trees which have since grown up in them, have evidently been abandoned for centuries.

It would appear that the Todas have always maintained some intercourse with the western coast, as the cowrie necklaces of the women imply. The earliest notice of them I know of, is to be found in the Journal of the Archbishop of Goa, Alexo de Meneses; Coimbra, 1606, the following extract from which has been kindly furnished me by Dr. Gundert:—

"From Malabar the Vicar's regular report, from their hitherto neglected and paganised churches, came in to Goa (in 1599). At this time two Cattanars had been to Todamala in the country of the Zamorin, 50 leagues distant from the furthest churches. There (in Todamala) there are still Christians, who speak a language different from the Malabar language. They call their god 'Bidi'* (=fado, fatum). They have a Trinity of persons, viz., an old man, a youth, and a small bird. They say Thomas taught them, but because the king of Mylapūr killed all Christians, they took refuge on these mountains, that there their Cattanars have died, their books have been lost, and all idea of God has disappeared, but still they have a picture very much injured of that Trinity. The objects of that picture they try to keep in mind. They knew that in Cochin there were people of their own caste, on which account they called the two Cattanars brothers, and summoned men and women together to hear them, when the Cattanars explained from the picture the Trinity to the people. The Jesuit Roy was very glad of this report, and spoke of it as not a singular instance. In other places also (near the hills) remains of former Christian congregations were discovered. He (Roy) became Bishop of Angimale in 1601, and Archbishop of Cranganore in 1605."

This report seems to have led to further investigations, as we find by the following abstract of a manuscript in the British Museum kindly furnished me by the Reverend Mr. Whitehouse:—

At the synod of Udiamparūr in the state of Cochin,† held under Archbishop Meneses in 1599, information having been received that there were certain villages of Christians in a country called Todamala, who anciently belonged to the Syrian church of Malabar, but then had nothing of Christianity except the bare name, it was ordered that priests and preachers should be sent thither immediately to redeem them to the Catholic faith, baptize them, &c. Francisco Roy, the first Roman Catholic Bishop of the Syrian Christians, in 1602 sent a priest and deacon of the Christians of St. Thomas with a good guide to find out the place and collect information. They reached the Todamala; but, as the account brought back by them, was not so sure and complete as was desirable, Bishop Roy requested the Vice-Principal of the Jesuits to depute a priest of his own order to make further inquiries. The Rev. Jacome Ferreiri was selected for this mission. He started from Calicut, the place of his residence, and was permitted to return safely, after undergoing great exposure and fatigue, with a good deal of information about the hill tribes, their manners and customs, but with no tidings of any Christian colony, which had either become extinct or removed elsewhere, if it had ever been there at all.

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* Dr. Gundert says, "Bidi or Vidhi is a well-known name of Brahma."

† Todamala is included in a list of Christian churches given in Assemani Bibl. Orient., but this only refers to the date of this same synod.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

These scars are produced by burning the skin
304 with red-hot sticks of *Litsæa Wightiana* (the sacred fire-
[824] stick). The Todas believe that the branding enables
[234] them to milk the buffaloes with perfect ease, or as
[755] Dr. Rivers puts it, that it cures the pain caused by the fatigue of milking. "The marks," he says, "are made when a boy is about twelve years old, at which age he begins to milk the buffaloes." About the fifth month
[843] of a woman's first pregnancy, on the new-moon day, she goes through a ceremony, in which she brands herself, or is branded by another woman, by means of a rag rolled up, dipped in oil and lighted, with a dot on the carpo-metacarpal joint of each thumb and on each wrist.

142 The women are lighter in colour than the men, and the colour of the body has been aptly described as of a *café-au-lait* tint. The skin of the female children and young adults is often of a warm copper hue. Some of
[302] the young women, with their raven-black hair dressed in glossy ringlets, and bright glistening eyes, are distinctly good-looking, but both good looks and complexion are
[145] short-lived, and the women speedily degenerate into uncomely hags. As in Maori land, so in Toda land,
[562] one finds a race of superb men coupled to hideous women, and, with the exception of the young girls, the fair sex is the male sex. Both men and women cover
29] their bodies with a white mantle with blue and red lines,
[439] called putkŭli, which is purchased in the Ootacamund
[531] bazar, and is sometimes decorated with embroidery worked by the Toda women. The odour of the person
147 of the Todas, caused by the rancid butter which they
[294] apply to the mantle as a preservative reagent, or with
[237] which they anoint their bodies, is quite characteristic.
[302] With a view to testing his sense of smell, long after our return from Paikara, I blindfolded a friend who had accompanied me thither, and presented before his nose

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

about 50, including some wives who were Tamilian by origin, and all the children.[4] In 1932 Miss Ling returned to England after fifty years of missionary life. The Toda Christians who had turned to her for settlement of all their difficulties now found themselves without strong and sympathetic guidance, and dissatisfaction with those who succeeded her and quarrels among themselves, as well as difficulty in meeting their financial obligations to the mission and to Miss Ling herself, who had aided them with large loans from her own means, produced in the community what may only be regarded as disintegration. In 1938 Miss Ling felt compelled to return to India and her influence had already begun to heal the breaches before I lost contact with the community.

A few of the men have taken to other economic pursuits than agriculture. One is a chauffeur, one a policeman, another was apprenticed to a tailor. [kuaRo:n] (34, Kwodron) showed promise in school and later studied at the Madras Christian College in Madras, where he learned English with remarkable correctness and fluency (he was my best interpreter). He was employed as a clerk in various government offices in Ootacamund but got into financial difficulties of a somewhat disreputable sort, and finally to extricate himself became a convert to the Seventh Day Adventist Mission. [kanfuisodj] (14, Kunpuradi) has been a chauffeur but is now an agriculturalist. His English is rather defective, but he made a remarkably good interpreter and informant in investigations into ethnological matters, since his interest in tribal affairs is intense, and in the song-technique of the Todas, with which he is thoroughly familiar, being himself the quasi-official composer of the Toda Christians. Most of the members of the community work industriously at their agricultural life and, since the Nilgiris specialize in growing potatoes for the markets in the plains and as far north as Bombay, economic life is fairly secure and permits a standard which is in many ways higher than that of the tribe and than that of many other Christian communities of South India. The women continue to do Toda embroidery for sale through the mission.[5]

Economically, the Christian community has had to separate itself from the tribe. One link however remains. The pastures of the Christians become poor seasonally and at such times cattle which are not giving milk are often pastured with the tribe's herds in the dry-weather pastures. The man to whom such cattle are entrusted is recompensed with a small fee. Frequently the same course is adopted with young

[4] This figure is only a guess and probably a slight overestimate. The census figure of 507 for the Todas in the year 1931 included 27 Christian Todas, according to the enumerators, although the mission claimed 37. The Christian community has undoubtedly grown since then by the addition of converts and of births.

[5] See my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, JAOS 57. 277–289.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

its pasturage, to the economic advantage of the latter. Moreover, the tribe has come to depend on the mission for the sale of its women's needlework. Perhaps another factor is to be seen in the small size of the tribe. Every convert is related somehow to practically every Toda in the tribe and still uses the appropriate terms of address. The Badagas show a contrast here, for in a community of over 40,000 the great majority of Badagas that a convert will meet will be strangers and unrelated to him. It would be unwise to push any argument based on this feeling of relationship between the two Toda communities, and yet one suspects that the matter has its weight. Finally, if one must, it is possible to fall back on characterizations of the Todas as "a friendly people" [18] or as a tolerant people. Their hauteur and self-sufficient bearing has often been remarked, and as a complementary side of their character there is a lack of fanaticism in them. They know that they are a peculiar people (in anthropological terms, aberrant) and recognise that others, even if they are Todas, must be allowed their peculiarities. Hence their rather great degree of tolerance for the Christian converts and their retention of relations with them where it is possible.

[18] So my Kota informant quoted in *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after*, p. 105.

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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from the plains on the Tamilian side of the hills, either directly or through Kurumba middlemen. The details of these last transactions have been almost entirely forgotten through disuse. At the present time rice is obtained in the bazaars of Ootacamund and probably Kotagiri, chiefly from the Chettis, who also supply all the cloaks worn by the Todas and the waistcloths put on corpses at funerals, as well as many other articles. These articles are paid for chiefly with milk and ghee. While the milk of sacred buffaloes is too sacred to be thus profaned, the sanctity has been removed by the time it reaches the ghee-stage, and ghee may be sold, irrespective of its origin. The transactions with the Chettis are not allowed by them to be profitable to the Todas. If a Toda has only a few buffaloes, he is always in debt. And even a Toda with a fair number of buffaloes will usually be in debt. This starts during the dry season when the buffaloes give little milk and ghee is scarce. The Chetti is usually asked for credit and once this begins, the Toda can seldom free himself even if he suffers no accidental misfortune such as the death of a buffalo. The complicated transfers of buffaloes at ceremonies undoubtedly play a large part in the impoverishment of many Todas, as well as the slaughter of buffaloes at funerals, and certain ceremonies involving feasts complete the process. Under this system of traffic in the bazaar the Todas as a tribe are never free of debt. When the Toda Amelioration Scheme was initiated some years ago under the aegis of Government, it was considered that the first step to be taken was the paying off of the Todas' debts and this was done by Government. The Scheme was unsuccessful (see below) and the debts have grown again.

The Badagas, as has been said above, still continue their contributions to the Todas, while the Todas supply them with a small amount of produce and make various other small returns. The economic interchange between Kotas and Todas continues. This takes the form chiefly of a supply of tools and pots and the playing of music at funerals by the Kotas, and in return they acquire the carcasses and hides of the buffaloes slaughtered at funerals, a certain amount of ghee, and occasionally other articles. In both cases it seems probable that the Todas are the gainers in the total of transactions. The continuance of these interchanges

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

The giving of cloths in various Toda ceremonies was compared with cloth-giving ceremonies in Malabar. It will be found, however, as Rivers recognized,[30] that giving of cloths, both in marriage ceremonies and otherwise, is very general throughout India. No stress should be laid on this detail until and unless further investigations of other Indian communities warrant it. So also with the breaking of pots at funerals; it is not confined to the Todas and the Malabar coast.

The use of poles and boxes at funerals, of cowries, and of leaf-umbrellas, all of these being obtained from Malabar, is hardly more than the use of trade-objects, and is probably to be regarded as an example of diffusion of comparatively unessential material objects. The place of origin does not matter in the case of the cowries and the umbrellas; they have now been replaced by glass beads and European-type umbrellas respectively. It is doubtful whether the place of origin has any significance in the case of the other objects.

The Toda munds at Gudalur are well known in tradition as recent foundations; they have now been abandoned. The origin of some sacred buffaloes in the Wynaad, i.e. the same general area between the Nilgiris and Malabar, is paralleled by the origin of other sacred buffaloes on the Coimbatore, i.e. the Tamilian, plains on the other side of the Nilgiris.

It is evident then that the Malabar origin for the Todas and their customs favored by Rivers is untenable.[31] The Toda matrilineal sibs, which were unknown to Rivers, could have been used by him to bolster up his hypothesis, but it would have proved to be of no more value than his other evidence. It is clear that the general South Indian situation sketched above provides a sufficient basis for the Toda developments. The South Indian exogamous patrilineal sib has retained full vigor among the Todas. The exogamous tendencies of the matrilineal line which work in varying degrees in all South Indian communities have been developed among the Todas into full-fledged exogamous matrilineal sibs, probably on the model of the patrilineal sibs and facilitated by the small size of the tribe. We have here nothing more than an isolated local development, easily derivable from a general cultural feature of South India. The resemblance to the Malabar matrilineal communities is only superficial, for there the patrilineal units, if they originally existed, have been entirely superseded by the matrilineal units.

[30] Rivers, p. 702.

[31] Rivers also toyed with Coorg as a source for Toda customs, basing this partly on linguistic, partly on ethnological grounds. It may be mentioned here that the polyandry alleged for the Coorgs, if it ever existed, seems to have left no trace either verbally or in relic-institutions, so far as I was able to discover in eight months of linguistic work in Coorg. The linguistic grounds given by Rivers (p. 114) for Toda knowledge of the Coorgs are incorrect. The Todas call the plains at the foot of the Nilgiris, i.e. to the south, east, and northeast, kīṯṯ. This is etymologically connected with Kota kogg in the same meaning, Tamil koṉku "the Tamil country comprising the districts of Coimbatore, Salem, and a portion of Mysore," in effect the same area as that meant by the Toda and Kota words, Kannaḍa koggu with the same meaning as the Tamil word, Malayalam koṅgu (no dictionary is accessible for the meaning). Rivers understood at least one instance of the Toda word as being equivalent to the English word Coorg. This is impossible. "Coorg" represents the Kannaḍa koḍagu, which cannot be connected with Toda kīṯṯ and its cognates. The Todas have no knowledge of the Coorg country or of its inhabitants.

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101 gods, are very close indeed; so close in fact that to know them really
648 well it would be necessary to make a special study of them from the
121 point of view of each of the five communities in turn. As others who have worked solely on the Todas before me, I am, however, only acquainted with these relations from the Toda viewpoint, and consequently can only briefly account for them here as described to me from that angle.

648 Of the four, the Badaga community is the largest. It is said, too, that it is the latest to have arrived in the Blue Mountains, but even so, this must have been quite a long time ago, as there are Portuguese descriptions of it going back for more than three centuries. The Todas [186] consider the Badagas as practically their equals, and their name for them is *Mav*. They depend on them for much of their livelihood, as [439] they are the agriculturists who supply them with grain, and all relations with the outer world are conducted to a large extent for the Todas through their intermediary. They pay a specified grain tribute called *kur* (Rivers' *gudu*) to the Todas, and the priests of the latter's most important temples may eat only Badaga grain (which includes rice) and none other. Furthermore a Badaga from the village of Tuneri is by right a member of the Toda tribal council, when it decides questions of inter-tribal importance, and at certain ceremonies in the principal temples, a Badaga, known as a *tikelvmav* has to be in attendance.

[186] The Kotas, called *Kuv* by the Todas, are looked down upon by them
[439] and considered low-caste. They are the artisans who supply metalware and pottery to their neighbours, and, as is often the case with smiths in India, also music at festive occasions. They are indispensable at Toda funerals, where they have very distinct duties such as providing a band, giving cloth, grain, ceremonial bows and arrows, money etc. for the proper disposal of the corpse, besides taking away the sacrificed buffaloes which they eat.

The Kurumbas and Irulas are slight, dwarf-like aborigines who inhabit the forest-clad, malarial southern and western slopes of the Nil- [186] giris. They are known respectively as *Kurub* and *Erl* by the Todas, who fear them greatly as sorcerers and magicians. It is on them, and [439] principally the Kurumbas, that the tribe is dependent for its supply of bamboo vessels, of a certain long pole, the *tari*, used at funerals, and more especially of medicine, which appellation includes poison. The Todas make habitual use of the latter when they want to fight each other in personal or inter-clan feuds. In Toda mythology, the two last named of their neighbours as well as the Kotas, but not the Badagas, are mentioned.

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776 Then come two important demi-gods: a) *Kwotèn*, a man-god whose fabulous life is closely associated with one of the Toda clans (that of Pan); Rivers believed him to have been an outstanding Toda personality who was possibly posthumously deified. b) *Kwoto*, another man-god; he is closely associated with the clan of Melgarsh; among the legendary feats which he is reputed to have accomplished is that of tying down the sun between two mountains and of taking it to drink at a stream every day, in order to prove to the gods, who had challenged him, that he possessed supernatural powers.

197 The language spoken by the Todas is a Dravidian dialect. According to Emeneau, it is more akin to Canarese (Kanada) than to Tamil, although it cannot be said to be a very close relative of the former either. All Todas are, anyhow, bilingual, and very often even tri-
191 lingual, conversing freely in Badaga with their neighbours and in Tamil with visitors from the plains. As they have no script of their own,
212 when they occasionally want to write something (such as commemora-
177 tive inscriptions on temple doors) they make use of Tamil characters. I have never seen them use Roman letters, but I have been told (by Miss C. F. Ling for instance) that although not habitual, this is sometimes also done.

234 The economy of the Todas is a pastoral one, large herds of great
433 horned buffaloes, which do not resemble those of the plains, being kept for their milk and milk products. Many of these animals are
[778] quite ordinary (*putir*) but the great majority of them are pedigree cattle of a sacred nature (*postir*), their ancestry being calculated through the cows. They are believed to have been given to the tribe by the gods. They are grouped in four principal categories, each graded hierarchically. Thus the lowest category is that of the *wursulir*, then come the
[778] *nodrovair* and the *Kugvalir*, and finally, the highest and most sacred of all, the *tlir*.

[648] Like other pastoral people, the Todas consider it degrading to take
[241] to agriculture, and repeated attempts by the Indian Government to induce them to till the soil have miserably failed. When given a field
[427] to cultivate, they usually let it out to a Badaga for a nominal sum, preferring to carry on with their animal husbandry and its semi-nomadic form of life, a tradition deeply ingrained in them and to which they are greatly attached. Most of the milk, butter and buttermilk
● [439] produced by the tribe is consumed by its members, but a certain amount is sold in the local market, and the money thus earned made use of to
433 buy other foods and everyday commodities. On the whole, the Toda
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